

In fact

For The Millions Who Want a Free Press

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George Seldes, Editor

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Hess Victory?

THE real purpose of Nazi leader Rudolph Hess's flight to Britain, IN FACT exclusively reported (June 30) was to make peace and switch the world war into an Anglo-German attack on Russia. The five peace terms were published in IN FACT.

Confirmation was received later when United Press reported from Madrid giving a similar set of peace terms, and when Collier's correspondent Hillman pointed out that Hess is a Buchmanite, so is the Duke of Hamilton, for whose estate he was headed in his flight, and so are the leading members of Hitler's Anglo-German Fellowship of Britain, many of them now holding important offices. Likewise the Cliveden Setters to whom Lindbergh brought Goering's message regarding the invincibility of the German air arm are Buchmanites, appeasers and pro-Hitlerites.

Churchill has refused to tell Parliament what the Hess trip is about. Attempts to get Hess to testify in a libel suit have failed. Now letters from Labor Party men, who are urging Churchill to open a new front, say that Hess may have won out after all, inasmuch as Britain has done nothing but air raids and thus permitted Hitler to fight his way to the gates of Moscow. Hess asked for British aid, or at a minimum, neutrality.

"Britain is sending all aid to Russia short of war," Time (Oct 20) quotes Londoner.

Behind the Movie Probe

IS Joseph P Kennedy, former ambassador to Britain, former movie magnate, and associate of industrialists and speculators, one of the men behind the present motion picture investigation? The recently established monthly, Jewish Survey, in an open letter to Wendell Willkie asks that Kennedy be questioned. It says: "Mr Kennedy is quite skilled in the technique of obtaining control of film companies from firsthand experience. He has a long acquaintance with the film industry's financial setup. And Mr Kennedy, now a trusted adviser to Sen Wheeler—who ordered the present movie 'investigation'—has shown interest in Hollywood recently. One of Mr Kennedy's first actions on return to America from England and while still serving as ambassador was to confer with Will Hays, head of the Motion Picture Producers of America, Inc.

"Mr Kennedy's familiarity with the motion picture industry dates back to 1928. The Radio Corp of America, General Electric and Westinghouse supplied Mr Kennedy with \$1,000,000 to purchase a company known as Film Booking Offices, which distributed films

J P Morgan's Beauty Cream

p 1

Leading Radio Commentator Joins Anti-Semites

p 2

Truth About Religion in Russia, by Anna Louise Strong

p 4

WHEN a corporation puts out "Elixir of Sulphanilimide" and kills 73 persons, there is a howl in the press. But the same press day after day, year after year, continues to fool its 50,000,000 readers by publishing false advertising for products which are usually not harmful to the point of causing death, but which are frequently injurious and more frequently plain robbery.

Evidence: the daily orders of the Federal Trade Commission forcing corporations all the way from Ford and General Motors and Chrysler to stop advertising a 6% instalment plan (when in truth it was nearer 12% plus) to the leading "international" banker, J P Morgan's beauty cream. The FTC issues "cease and desist" orders, "complaints," and "stipulations" all of which constitute what is known in the very newspapers which suppress them as "fraud orders."

Evidence: Food & Drug Administration releases.

Evidence: Dep't of Agriculture press releases.

(PS: whenever IN FACT accuses the press of this suppression it exempts NY's PM, St Louis Post-Dispatch, Christian Science Monitor; it knows of no other commercial paper which does not suppress.)

The newspapers of America and their paymasters, the advertisers, have put up a terrific battle in an attempt to keep the FTC, F&DA and Dep't of Agriculture from issuing their daily statements and monthly reports to the public. The newspapers suppress them but are afraid official gov't findings will reach the public (through Consumers Union for example, or IN FACT, or the magazine Frauds Exposed, published at La Crescenta, Cal, or the three papers mentioned, and occasionally the NYTimes). The three gov't reports are free.

The Morgan Story "Left Out" or Suppressed

Feminine beauty, according to the cold calculations of the census bureau, Dep't of Commerce, affects an annual business approaching \$800,000,000 for goods and services; beauty preparations are said to cost \$300,000,000; no less than 49,164,587 females aged 15 upwards are affected. This means \$16 per capita and compares with national per capita expenditure of \$77.20 in food stores and \$21.44 at gas stations.

Among those in the beauty line is Mr Morgan.

Mr Morgan's "sec'y of state," "prime minister" and "Dr Goebbels" is Thomas W Lamont, operating as Lamont Corliss & Co. This concern puts out Ponds cream and other articles. The account is handled by J Walter Thompson & Co, which has frequently been classed as the leading Fascist spokesman of Big Business. Mr Lamont himself went openly on record for Fascism when he and Mr Morgan floated the \$100,000,000 loan for Mussolini in 1926. In 1927 Lamont wrote a eulogy of Fascism in the Survey magazine.

Against Lamont's "Pond's New Skin Vitamin Creams" consisting of a liquifying cream, a cold cream and a vanishing cream and also against "Danya Lotion" which was "described in periodical and radio advertising as a 'skin vitamin'" FTC issued an order marked "for release in morning papers Wed Sept 17." The Morgan firm must "cease and desist from misrepresentations in the sale of creams and lotions." The advertising was false. The creams do not do what is claimed. FTC concludes that in certain cases massaging certain creams into the skin "may add to the clogging . . . may make such conditions worse."

As all doctors know, soap and water are the best cleansing agents for normal or oily skins; cold cream or cleansing cream may be used if skin is dry. "Other claims, or claims that a cream has merit because of the addition of some special ingredient (gold, grapefruit, avocado or vitamins, for example) are without basis in fact." This quotation is from Consumers Union, an organization formed to safeguard American buyers; it is therefore boycotted by the American press. (Address: 17 Union Square W, NYC.)

Inasmuch as we could find no mention of the Pond vitamin cream and lotion in America's leading paper, the NYTimes (or in any big paper with exceptions

noted) we wrote Managing Editor James asking for confirmation the news was suppressed. Mr James kindly replied:

"As for the cease and desist order of the FTC against Ponds, I find that our Business News Dep't sent up a short story on it on the night of Sept 16. It was crowded out of the paper along with about 50 columns of other news. And, I add that it does not make a bit of difference to me whether you believe it or not. But, I will mention that we print 180,000 words a night and receive about 450,000. I suppose, therefore, that we 'suppress' 270,000 words a night, according to your interpretation.

"I would like to ask you what you mean by reminding me that Ponds is owned by Lamont and that Lamont is a partner of J P Morgan. I don't know what that has to do with it."

To this IN FACT replied:

"The newspaper PM, which does not take advertising and which is not corrupted by advertising or even influenced by it, has in the past year made big full page illustrated stories of FTC orders, notably in the Listerine and Good Housekeeping cases, whereas most newspapers, including the Times either suppress FTC orders or bury a paragraph under obituaries, weather reports, ship sailings or business news. Listerine involved the Nat'l Ass'n of Manufacturers . . . Good Housekeeping involved 4 deaths from Miracle Whip, an advertised product; . . . The Times buried or suppressed the story.

"Almost every day the FTC issues a news story involving something from an automobile to a face cream, usually an advertiser. You say you do not suppress them, but they are crowded out by other news. This is because you use them only as paragraphs and probably slug them for the business-obit-ship-weather page. They're news. They are indeed, a test of the honesty of a paper. So far as I know only PM, St Louis P-D, and C S Monitor use these items as news and these are the only three papers in America which intelligent people agree do not suppress the news. I challenge you to print gov't orders proving fraudulent advertising. . . ."

To which NYT managing editor replied:

"I guess the only answer is that we do not wish to take any lessons in journalistic honesty from PM or IN FACT."

Mr James also sent a clipping headed "Union business agent suspended by CIO" which he challenged IN FACT to reprint. IN FACT aims to print only what the press, including the Times suppresses. It does not attempt to be a general newspaper. IN FACT does believe that the Times could take lessons in journalistic honesty from PM and IN FACT. And certainly from the Post-Dispatch and Monitor. And from the many small town papers which do not suppress, distort, color the news or fight labor and the Wagner Act.

BOAKE CARTER JOINS THE ANTI-SEMITES

THE announcement of Boake Carter as the featured speaker at the Oct 17-19 convention of the Anglo-Saxon Federation, a Fascist anti-Semitic organization of which Henry Ford's radio spokesman, William J Cameron is the best known member, illustrated the fact that American Fascisti act in exactly the same manner as the Mussolini, Hitler, Franco, Japanese and other Fascist outfits do abroad.

Boake Carter has defended Hitler and Mussolini.

Boake Carter has attacked labor, especially the CIO, and was once forced off the air by the protests of Americans who believed in democracy.

Boake Carter has been pro-Japanese and anti-Chinese.

Boake Carter defended the Fascist coalition which killed the Spanish Republic.

Boake Carter being an all-round reactionary, naturally now joins with anti-Semites, thus providing a complete definition of what "native Fascism" means. Incidentally, Carter in addition to airing his anti-labor views over the radio, reaches additional millions through a column used in the Hearst papers.

One of the leading Fascist organizations in America is the Christian Front which Father Coughlin originated, sponsored, officially denied, and finally admitted as his brainchild when FBI agents arrested 17 members in NYC for "conspiracy to overthrow the government." Whether or not that charge was correct, the testimony given, even admitted, was that members of the Christian Front practiced with guns, and one of the targets for them to vent their hate on was a photograph of the President. Testimony of knifing Jews in the streets was also given. A large number of the Christian Fronters, including the salesmen of Coughlin's propaganda, were proven hoodlums. Even worse hoodlums, according to court testimony, were members of the Christian Mobilizers.

Nevertheless, when these Fascist-hoodlum forces announced a "Great Pro-American Mass Meeting" in Carnegie Hall, May 24, 1939, "with the cooperation of the Christian Front" and 12 other patriotic organizations, one of which was J E McWilliams' Christian Mobilizers, the leading name on the list of speakers was Boake Carter's. The subject, "Free Speech and the News." Carter was listed as "Radio's Fearless News Editor," McWilliams as "dynamic young orator," and George U Harvey, president of the borough of Queens and the leading Nazi-ophile in office in the metropolis, was also listed as "dynamic." Harvey is the man who publicly advocated whipping of radicals, a la Hitler.

In addition to mingling with the racial-religious Fascists, Carter also en-

to exhibitors. The owners of this company were London investors, principally Lloyds of London. According to the NYTimes Lloyds had invested \$7,000,000 in this company. . . . The magazine gives amazing details of all the deals of Kennedy as head of RKO and Pathe Exchange by which he made millions. Also, other stock ventures, one of which resulted in a Senate stock market investigation of the Libby-Owens glass pool. Kennedy, later head of the Stock Exchange Control Comm (SEC) is said to have profited \$395,000 (NYT July 16 1934).

Kennedy as ambassador to Britain was a leading appeaser. He was Chamberlain's closest friend. He introduced Lindbergh to Chamberlain (PM Jan 19 1941).

Returning from Britain, Kennedy gave Louis Lyons of Boston Globe and NANA representative an interview in which he said, "Democracy is finished in England." As for U S entry into war, he said, "Over my dead body. I'll spend everything I've got to keep us out."

Kennedy Pro-Fascist

IN FACT (Jan 13) published part of the Kennedy report to Roosevelt on the war, the biggest scoop this publication has had. Kennedy said Britain was adopting Fascist methods and he approved. The lowering of the national diet so far as the masses of workingmen are concerned he called a "miracle of miracles" and "sensible." He reported approvingly compulsory measures against labor and disapproved wage increases.

IN FACT also reported that it was Kennedy who had joined with Ambassador Bullitt in Paris and Lord Lothian and Lord Halifax in persuading the Roosevelt Administration and British Gov't to adopt a policy favoring Franco in Spain and leading to the destruction of the Spanish Republic by Hitler and Mussolini.

Said The Week (British newsletter): "Mr Kennedy . . . is an appeaser of the first water. . . . He has . . . gone to the length of informing members of the British Gov't that they need not worry about anything that Mr Roosevelt may do for the reason that

"(1) It will be my friends that are in the White House in 1940."

"(2) Roosevelt is run by the Jews and all the anti-Fascist sentiment in the U S is really created by the Jews, who control the press." (The Week, May 17 1939).

(The reader will note that No. 2 is the falsehood which Lindbergh and Coughlin have repeated recently, which originated with Dr Goebbels and Hitler.)

When Kennedy returned to America he went to Hollywood to confer with leading movie people, as well as William Randolph Hearst, according to Hearst's own newspapers. Early in 1941 Kennedy joined forces with Sen Wheeler—he had already been interested in America First and had said he was going to devote himself to "the greatest cause in the world today, to help the President keep the U S out of war." Wheeler visited Kennedy at his Palm Beach estate, recuperated from influenza in Kennedy's NYC home.

Questions for Kennedy

RICHARD BONHOMME concludes his investigation of the Kennedy financial and movie business with data regarding

Warner Bros, who were particularly blasted by Sen D Worth Clark and who incidentally never joined Kennedy's RKO; also Kennedy's relations to Hayden Stone Co, described in TNEC (Monopoly investigation) report 29 as sixth largest holder of Paramount preferred stock, and adds:

"In view of Mr Kennedy's financial dexterity in the film industry and his reported intention to devote his fortune to the establishment of what he considers a correct foreign policy for the U S, we think that it might be well for you, Mr Willkie, in your capacity as counsel for the motion picture industry, to have Mr Kennedy called to testify at the movie investigation. He should be asked the following questions:

"1) Does Mr Kennedy have any plans for buying control of any motion picture companies or becoming active in their management? Does Mr Kennedy know if any of his acquaintances or friends have such plans?

"2) Did Mr Kennedy discuss with Senator Wheeler the necessity, desirability, or the nature of the present movie 'investigation'?"

Battle of New York

AS far back as Sept 1 IN FACT published the first complete story of what the mayoralty campaign of NYCity was all about: a war between all reactionary or Fascist forces against democratic forces; a small part of the war now going on throughout the world; an election test in which corrupt Tammany forces, the Hearst press, the Christian Front, Mobilizers, German Bund, certain America First elements, are seeking to start a national Fascist party. Sept 8 IN FACT showed the tie-up between Tammany and prostitution and gambling. Oct 6 under the heading "NY Election Will Test Fascist Strength," IN FACT concluded the presentation of facts of the first battle of national importance between native Fascism and native Democracy.

Now, on Oct 20, the New Republic says the election "is part of the increasing war of our time between a militant democracy on the one hand, and on the other the forces of hatred . . . inefficiency, corruption, which play into the hands of the Nazis. . . . Thus far Mr O'Dwyer has not shown the strength nor Tammany the will to quell the hatreds stirred up by the campaigning of America Firsters, Lindberghites, Bundists and Christian Fronters in their behalf." And, says the New Republic of Oct 20: "All these things are, of course, below the surface. They are not written about."

Well, IN FACT wrote about them Sep 18, Oct. 6, Also, IN FACT has three or four times the circulation of the New Republic. At any rate, we are glad to see our news confirmed by our respected contemporary.

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dorsed Major Gen'l Van Horn Moseley at the time Moseley came out with the suggestion that all refugees from the Nazi terror arriving in America should be sterilized. Again when Carter spoke for a leading pro-Hitlerite, Walter Winchell wrote: "Boake Carter's defense of George Sylvester Viereck in the Congressional Record, via the Senator Lundeen odors. . . . And the way Carter neglects mentioning the fact that Viereck is a paid Nazi propagandist. . . ."

How Labor Knocked Carter Off the Radio

Carter today speaks to millions in behalf of a brewer who either approves of his Fascist record or figures that his clientele approves. But when Carter spoke for other products, organized labor protested his attacks on the unions and got him off the air—a right which labor does not exercise often enough.

First, Carter spoke for Philco which, thanks to advice from Publicist Edward L Bernays, was the first to sign a contract with the new United Electric & Radio Workers (CIO). People liked Carter's British accent. Henry Thomas (Boake) Carter was born of British parents in Baku, South Russia, where his father was consul. After Cambridge University and the Royal Air Force, Carter came to Philadelphia and became not only 100% American but at least 101%.

He also went Tory. The New Deal, labor troubles, the Sit Down strikes, the great success of the new CIO unions, all brought out the old British upperclass hatred in Carter. When labor throughout the country protested, Philco refused to renew its contract with him.

At this moment Clare Francis, who likes reactionary or Fascist anti-labor views, sold Carter to his superior, Colby Chester, head of General Foods and then also president of the National Ass'n of Manufacturers (leading native Fascist organization according to Monopoly Investigation Monograph 26).

Boake Carter then spoke for Huskies and Post Toasties. General Foods also sells nationally advertised Maxwell House Coffee, Jello, Grape Nuts, Certo, Calumet baking powder. Apparently Colby Chester of GF and NAM gave Carter the green light for redbaiting and laborbaiting, and not only labor but consumers organizations, women's organizations and the liberal-labor press urged a boycott. In August 1938 Carter was told he was out of General Foods; for his last broadcast he read from John Stuart Mill's essay on Liberty, the anti-labor devil quoting libertarian scripture for his purpose.

He then toured the nation as a martyr, a victim of an attack on freedom of the air, and incidentally as a spokesman for the economic royalists. When he spoke in Madison, Wisc, Editor Evjue said in an editorial "Carter is a faker and a demagogue."

While Carter was assailing radio for bumping him, he was also praising the newspapers, to which he was selling a column. "I want to defend the newspapers," he said. "Maybe 6 or 7% are bad, but the remaining 93% are upholding the integrity of the press."

On October 23, 1940 Carter returned to the radio for United Air Lines, armed with congratulatory messages from William Green, president AFL and John L Lewis, president CIO. Lewis said "Your absence has been a distinct public loss"; Green offered best wishes. Previously, Carter had had it out with Joe Curran, fighting leader of the maritime workers, and had promised that he would refrain from his dirty attacks on labor in general and maritime workers in particular. Today Carter speaks passionately for Piel's beer. Carter has made as much as \$150,000 a year from radio; he has earned \$550 a week from his column syndicated to 52 papers, and gets \$500 for his anti-New Deal, anti-labor, reactionary lectures.

Carter Challenged on Distortions

On two notable occasions, Boake Carter has been challenged by important organizations.

He was accused by the White House Correspondents Association of spreading misinformation about President Roosevelt's press conferences. Earl Godwin, now a radio colleague, then president of the ass'n, wrote to the Philadelphia Public Ledger Syndicate, which handles Carter, that Carter's charge that the President suppressed the press and that he censored questions at press conferences was simply not true. Godwin stated:

"The trouble with this statement is that it is 100% wrong. The White House conferences are as free as air and no restraint as to the questions asked. Nor is this the first time that Mr Carter has made completely erroneous statements about newspaper work in Washington . . . (and White House correspondents) object to this kind of misinformation."

The Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen's president, A F Whitney, has sent IN FACT a carbon copy of its protest to Carter. Whitney protested an attack by Carter on the strikers of New Kensington, Pa, plant of the Aluminum Co. Wrote Whitney:

"As for the underhanded attempt on the part of paid publicity agents and other hirelings of reactionary business to drag in the issue of national defense, if any crime has been committed against the national defense, let the onus fall on the guilty parties, the company and its pariah.

"Perhaps it is too much to hope for fair treatment of labor in your

column, but it is certainly not too much to ask for objective handling of the news. Since you mention the downfall of France, may I suggest that you review the part played in the unhappy event by the corrupt and venal newspapers which kept the truth from the French people."

THE FACTS ABOUT RELIGION IN RUSSIA

By ANNA LOUISE STRONG

Anna Louise Strong, who has spent many years in the Soviet Union and is recognized as one of the most competent authorities on the subject, has sent us this explanation of the "religious freedom" controversy.

THE whole pother about religious freedom covers the desire of the Vatican to take over the Orthodox Church lock, stock and barrel. Ever since the czar's fall left that church without an important head, the Vatican has been training hundreds of priests for this purpose. Now it wants Roosevelt, via the Soviet's war needs, to open the way.

To do this the Soviet law of property must be abrogated. It has nothing to do with the religious freedom of the individual; what the Vatican needs is freedom for an outside hierarchy to send in propagandists under embassy protection and with the right to hold permanent properties in the USSR. Nothing less will do; this has been the kernel of their 20-year fight with the Soviets. If they get this, they have all they need.

Religious freedom for an individual and for a hierarchy are different, and may even be contradictory, as our American founding fathers well knew. The Soviet Constitution grants religious freedom to the individual and this constitution is enforced. This religious freedom has increased with the years precisely because it became less dangerous to the state. Today Young Communists are not allowed even to scoff at their parents' religion, and officials have been deposed for over-taxing or otherwise annoying groups of believers.

BUT—the Soviet property law puts the ownership of the church building, like all public buildings, in the hands of the municipality and not of any hierarchy. The local group of believers gets it on pledge to pay for upkeep. . . . If this group diminishes or loses interest, there are always several groups of citizens—often the sons and daughters of the believers—who want the building as a club. . . . Years back the officials often gave the young folks preference, and this caused much heart-burning. Today, in order to pamper the religious feelings of the old, they can keep the building long after the vast majority of the community wants it for other uses. But they can't keep it forever, and the religious groups grow moribund.

FOR—there being no hierarchy owning the property, nobody can send in a priest unless people want him enough to pay his salary; nobody can penalize them if they grow heretic. The result is that today there are tens of thousands of these churches all over the country, in various stages of poverty and gradually giving up the ghost. The Vatican wants to move in on them, with foreign funds, foreign priests and the right to possess the properties. From the standpoint of foreign missions, the field is wonderfully "ripe for harvest." It would take next to nothing in the way of additional funds and personnel to get control of these churches. The old have enough religion left so that they would seize the chance to get a priest for nothing, now that their organization weakens and can't support a priest of their own. Moreover, young folks in the USSR don't go in for being priests, so there would be a big importation of foreigners. . . . All protected by embassies and by "the conscience of the world. . . ." To religious people everywhere it would seem like such a revival that they would contribute largely.

The Soviets are asked to let a well financed and hostile machine into their land, backed by world-wide pressures, and to give it propaganda rights in every village.

But at that it might be worth it, if it got the Vatican to come out against Hitler. Only it wouldn't. . . . Appeasement never works. . . . This would give an enemy strongholds in all parts of the country, and the chance of starting worldwide campaigns to back up every new demand.

Farm Leader Accused

BECAUSE the National Grange is one of the most important farm organizations in America and has a long record of fighting for democracy, Louis J. Taber, Master of the Grange, was offered a place in the Agricultural Defense Committee set up by Sec'y Wickard after Pres. Roosevelt said, "in this time of crisis, food is a weapon against Hitlerism just as much as munitions. . . ."

Now Facts for Farmers (39 Cortland St., NYC; 25¢) a monthly newsletter which aims to tell farmers what the farm press which lives on advertising suppresses, declares that there was considerable dissension at the first meeting of the farm defense group, that Grange Master Taber was "out of step with the anti-Hitler program of abundance." Taber replied he was in favor of abundance but made no mention of being anti-Hitler. Now Facts for Farmers has discovered that Taber is a member of the Nat'l Comm of America First and demands he resign.

Facts for Farmers also says in Oct issue:

"John Cudahy is trying to hoax the American farmers." Of the consumer's pork dollar of which the farmer got 80¢ in 1913 he is only receiving about half today. "Why," continues the newsletter, "doesn't Mr Cudahy tell the American people why he really went to see Hitler? Was he perhaps the ambassador for those powerful trusts around Chicago who are financing the America First Committee and helping Coughlin's farm antics?" Farmers will be interested in the facts on butter vs oleomargarine and their relations to defense and pro-Hitlerism, which Editor Coe details.

Labor Board Purge

ALTHOUGH the CIO, 5,000,000 strong, and other labor bodies and most liberal organizations and hundreds of leading citizens asked Roosevelt to retain Edwin S. Smith on the Labor Board, Mr. Smith was not reappointed. Newsweek (Oct 20) says the board "was attacked by businessmen as pro-labor, radical and Red. Gradually it took on a mellow coloration." In other words it took on W. M. Leiserson and H. A. Millis, who are not pro-labor. Now the President has appointed G. R. Reilly in Smith's place. Board decisions will bear watching. According to the labor press, Big Business, unable to smash the Wagner Act, despite its campaign in the big newspapers, is trying to twist the Wagner Act to its purposes through decisions by an anti-liberal Labor Board. The new board has already hit at the UAW contract with Ford, ordering new elections in many plants.

"A CALL TO ARMS"

Attention Winter Soldiers—Subscribers and Friends of IN FACT. George Washington's army at Valley Forge despite the hardships of hunger and cold and the desertions of the summer soldiers, never acknowledged defeat. Victory was finally theirs. Victory must also be ours and now is the time. IN FACT can be one of the first lines of defense for democracy and national defense.

Now is the time for every Winter Soldier, every subscriber and friend to take his position in the campaign for 25,000 new subscribers. If you believe with IN FACT in a free press . . . if you believe Americans should get the news and information denied them by the big business controlled press . . . you will see that the subscription form on this page is filled out without delay. Your support is urgent and decisive.

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